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ABSTRACT

The relationship between family employment status and attitudes toward gender roles in the family was examined for 295 married college graduates. The hypothesis that individuals in dual earner families will be more supportive of nontraditional family gender roles compared to those in single earner families was tested. Attitudinal differences between women and men also were examined, as well as the effects of selected demographic factors (age, individual earnings, educational attainment) and family background variables (mother's employment status, if one's spouse attended college, parenthood status) on gender role attitudes. Attitudes toward gender roles in the family were assessed using a nine-item scale. Multiple regression analyses were used to analyze the data. The results indicated that individuals in dual earner families, women, and people with employed mothers expressed greater support for nontraditional gender roles, while parents were less supportive of nontraditional roles. It appears that, even among a sample of college-educated individuals, variation in gender role attitudes exists, with attitudes most strongly influenced by family employment status. The gender attitudes of both women and men appear to be consistent with the personal choices they make about work and family arrangements. Furthermore, these attitudes seem to be reflective of ideological stances that enhance and protect one's dual or single earner arrangement. The findings suggest an important link between work experiences, lifestyle choices, and gender role attitudes for women and men. (NB)

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"Attitudes Toward Gender Roles in the Family: A Comparison
of Women and Men in Dual and Single Earner Families"*

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Attitudes Toward Gender Roles in the Family: A Comparison
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ABSTRACT

The relationship between family employment status and attitudes toward gender roles in the family is examined for 295 married college graduates. Tested is the hypothesis that individuals in dual earner families will be more supportive of nontraditional family gender roles compared to those in single earner families. Attitudinal differences between women and men also are examined, as well as the effects of selected demographic factors (age, individual earnings, educational attainment) and family background variables (mother's employment status, if one's spouse attended college, parenthood status) on gender role attitudes. Attitudes toward gender roles in the family are assessed using a nine item scale. Multiple regression is used to analyze the data. The results indicate that individuals in dual earner families, women, and people with employed mothers express greater support for nontraditional gender roles, while parents are less supportive. The findings suggest an important link between work experiences, lifestyle choices and gender role attitudes for women and men.

INTRODUCTION

Research published since the 1970s has indicated an increase in attitudinal support for nontraditional gender roles and gender equality in the general population (Cherlin & Walters, 1981; Mason & Bumpass, 1975; Mason, Czajka, & Arber, 1976; Mason & Lu, 1988; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Thorton, 1989). However, given the diversity of lifestyles and experiences in our society, the likelihood exists that levels of support for nontraditional gender roles and gender equality will not be consistent across all segments of the population. Of particular interest in this study is the extent to which women's and men's gender role attitudes vary, depending upon whether they are part of a dual earner or a single earner family. Previous research suggests that such variation should exist given that gender role attitudes are related to work experiences and lifestyle choices, at least among women (Davis & Robinson, 1991; Gerson, 1987; Glass, 1992; Plutzer, 1988). The works of Gerson (1987) and Glass (1992) are particularly useful for illuminating which groups of women differ and why these differences may exist.

Both Gerson (1987) and Glass (1992) argue that important differences in gender-related attitudes should exist between women employed outside the home and full-time homemakers. Gerson (1987:214) has labeled this as a "family gap" in gender attitudes. The attitudinal differences stem

from the varying work and family circumstances confronted by each group, which result in differential exposure and reactions to social changes in the roles and statuses of women and men (Gerson, 1987). These social changes include expanded opportunities for women to pursue nondomestic goals, while at the same time, traditional sources of female security have been eroded (Gerson, 1987). Further, women who work outside the home often define their interests differently and have different kinds of resources and experiences compared to women who work full time in the home (Glass, 1992).

More specifically, the gender attitudes of employed women may be influenced by the unequal situations they often confront in the labor market (e.g. wage inequalities and a lack of parental leaves), as well as their attempts to balance employment and family demands. As a consequence of these experiences, employed women should be more supportive of beliefs and actions related to gender equality and more flexible gender roles. In contrast, by virtue of caring for the home and family on a full time basis, as well as being dependent on their husbands' wages for economic support, full-time homemakers should express greater support for the traditional roles of women and men. Full-time homemakers also may be less supportive of gender equality in the workplace as this may be seen as having a negative effect on

their husbands' occupational success (Gerson, 1987). Thus, the gender role attitudes of women reflect, at least in part, the personal choices they make about employment and family, as well as ideological perspectives that will enhance their own life choices and situations (Gerson, 1987).

A number of empirical studies have supported the hypothesis that employed women should be more likely to express support for nontraditional gender role options and gender equality compared to full-time homemakers (Glass, 1992; Mason & Lu, 1988; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Plutzer, 1988; Schaninger & Buss, 1986; Stokes & Peyton, 1986; Tallichet & Willits, 1986). Furthermore, according to Glass (1992), differences in gender attitudes between employed women and homemakers have grown over time. The major divergence is between women employed full time and full-time homemakers on items related to gender roles in the family, the impact of maternal employment on children, sexuality, and abortion. Women employed part time hold attitudes that are more similar to those of full-time homemakers.

The relationship between the gender role attitudes, work experiences and lifestyle choices of men has been explored much less frequently compared to that for women. However, the changes occurring in our society, such as the increasing labor force participation of women and the need

for more shared family responsibilities affect both men and women. As men in dual earner families attempt to balance the demands of two full-time occupations with the needs of their families, they too should be more supportive of flexibility in gender role options. In contrast, single earner men should favor attitudes that reflect their own choices and lifestyles, namely a traditional division of labor with the man responsible for economic support and the wife responsible for the home and family.

Another factor to consider is that men's gender attitudes may be affected by the employment status of their wives (Smith, 1985). Dual earner men have been found to exhibit greater attitudinal support for nontraditional gender roles than single earner men (Huber & Spitze, 1981; Mason & Lu, 1988; Smith, 1985). Further, Smith (1985) reports that husbands of employed wives are more likely to express egalitarian attitudes regarding gender issues in employment as well as traditional roles in the home compared to husbands of homemakers.

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

In the present study, we propose that as a result of differences in work experiences and lifestyle choices, women and men in dual earner families will be more supportive of nontraditional gender role options in the family than those

in single earner families. Compared to previous research, we believe our study makes a unique contribution to the literature in three ways.

First, although there have been many studies exploring various aspects of dual earner families such as the division of household labor or the interface between employment and family roles, few studies have focused on the gender attitudes of individuals in these family settings. Past comparisons of dual and single earner families also tend to address family behaviors rather than attitudes. (For thorough reviews of previous research on employment status and family life, see Menaghan & Parcel, 1990; Spitze, 1988; and Thompson & Walker, 1989).

Second, this study differs from earlier research in that all the people included in the study are college graduates. The educational homogeneity of the sample provides a unique context for assessing variation in gender role attitudes in dual and single earner families, particularly since higher levels of education are associated with support for nontraditional gender attitudes. Therefore, the participants in this study should already be generally supportive of nontraditional gender role options for women and men. Given the potential that exists for similarity in responses, any significant differences found between groups will be particularly noteworthy.

Third, although numerous studies have examined trends in gender role attitudes and the factors affecting these attitudes, many have been limited to women only (for example, see Acock & Edwards, 1982; Bielby & Bielby, 1984; Glass, 1992; Mason & Bumpass, 1975; Mason et al., 1976; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Plutzer, 1988; Stokes & Peyton, 1986; Tallichet & Willits, 1986). We argue that studies also need to examine the attitudes men hold, in part to reinforce the fact that men as well as women are "gendered" beings (Thompson & Walker, 1989).¹ Additionally, men's attitudes have an impact on a variety of social phenomenon such as the type of gender socialization children receive, as well as how women are viewed and treated in the domestic and public worlds. It also is important to include both women and men in our study given the findings of previous research on gender differences in gender-related attitudes. These studies consistently find that women are more supportive of gender equality and nontraditional gender role options compared to men (Dubno, 1985; Mason & Lu, 1988; McBroom, 1987; McKinney, 1987; Osmond & Martin, 1975; Roper & Labeff, 1977; Thorton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983; Yoder, Rice, Adams, Priest, & Prince, 1982; Zuckerman, 1981).

RESEARCH STRATEGY

To establish the independent effect of family employment status and of gender on attitudes toward gender roles in the family, other factors that may also impact gender role attitudes need to be taken into account. As Glass (1992) discusses, these variables can be thought of as important pre-existing differences between groups that should be controlled for in the analysis. Also, because various demographic factors may be related to employment status, the relationship between employment status and attitudes may be obscured if these variables are not taken into account (Stokes & Peyton, 1986).

The additional factors included in this study are the demographic variables of chronological age, individual yearly earnings, and educational attainment (beyond a college degree). Also examined are the family background characteristics of mother's employment status, whether one's spouse also attended college, and one's parental status.²

In relation to the demographic variables examined in this study, the inclusion of chronological age as a control variable is particularly important given that age may be confounded with a woman's employment status, where older women are more likely to be homemakers compared to younger women (Glass, 1992). Further, previous research suggests

that the relationship between age and support for nontraditional gender roles and gender equality is negative (Huber & Spitze, 1981; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Plutzer, 1988; Powell & Steelman, 1982; Thorton et al., 1983).

The younger respondents in our study should be more supportive of nontraditional gender roles in the family compared to older respondents. However, we do not anticipate that the effect of chronological age on support for nontraditional gender roles in the family will be large given the overall youthfulness of our sample.

We include a measure of individual yearly earnings in the study as an indicator of the level of resources and power one possesses in marriage. Different levels of resources and power may impact how one views the roles and options available to women and men. Only a few studies have examined the effect of individual earnings on gender attitudes. These studies find that its effect is positive for women (Huber & Spitze, 1981; Schaninger & Buss, 1986; Tallichet & Willits, 1986). Huber and Spitze (1981) also find a positive effect for men, however, Schaninger and Buss (1986) find that higher earnings are marginally related to holding more traditional attitudes for men. Although the research is not consistent for men, we propose that the effect of earnings on support for nontraditional gender roles in the family will be positive for both women and men.

To the extent that higher levels of education expose individuals to a diversity of lifestyles, as well as information on gender issues, one would anticipate that the effect of educational attainment on nontraditional gender role attitudes will be positive. Previous research is consistent in finding that the higher the educational attainment, the stronger the support for gender equality and nontraditional gender roles (Acock & Edwards, 1982; Huber & Spitze, 1981; Mason & Bumpass, 1975; Mason et al., 1976; Mason & Lu, 1988; Morgan & Walker, 1983; Powell & Steelman, 1982; Roper & Labeff, 1977; Schaninger & Buss, 1986; Tallichet & Willits, 1986; Thorton et al., 1983; Tomeh, 1978). Thus, we expect that those who have obtained education beyond a college degree will exhibit a higher level of support for nontraditional family gender roles.

In addition to the demographic variables, three family background factors are examined in this study. First, mother's employment status is included based on the assumption that mothers provide important role models as to the "appropriate" roles for women (Powell & Steelman, 1982). Also, the mother's own gender attitudes may be influenced by her employment status and these attitudes may be transferred to her children. And as we already have discussed, homemakers tend to possess more traditional views compared to employed women.

There has been some support for the hypothesis that the children of employed mothers will be more supportive of nontraditional gender roles and gender equality compared to the children of homemakers (Spitze, 1988). Bielby and Bielby (1984), as well as Schaninger and Buss (1986) find this to be true for women, while Powell and Steelman (1982) and Tomeh (1978) find this to be the case for men. Although the studies in this area are not always in agreement, we anticipate that the individuals in our study who have had employed mothers will express greater support for nontraditional gender roles compared to those who have had homemaker mothers.

A second family-related variable examined in this study is whether one's spouse also attended college. As noted previously, the relationship between educational attainment and support for nontraditional gender roles and gender equality is positive. Thus, having a spouse who is college-educated should serve to reinforce the potentially liberalizing effect of advanced education on gender role attitudes. We therefore propose that the individuals in our study with college-educated spouses will exhibit greater support for nontraditional gender roles than those whose spouses do not possess any college education.

A final factor to consider is whether differences exist in gender attitudes when comparing parents and nonparents.

With the entrance of children, couples often resort to a more traditional division of labor (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Based on the work of Schaninger and Buss (1986), it would appear that attitudes may mirror behaviors given that the presence of young children is associated with more traditional gender attitudes on the part of parents. Therefore, we anticipate that individuals with children will be more supportive of traditional gender roles compared to those without children.

As a result of using the research strategy just discussed, insight will be gained regarding the importance of family employment status for influencing attitudes toward nontraditional gender role options in the family relative to other potentially significant factors. Further, this strategy allows us to assess potential differences in the gender attitudes of women and men, as well as examine the effects of selected demographic and family background variables on gender role attitudes.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The data used for this study are obtained from a 1986 mail survey of college graduates from a midwestern state university. Using a systematic stratified random sampling design based on sex, major and year graduated, 1000

individuals who received college degrees between 1970 and 1984 were sent a questionnaire assessing their educational, occupational and lifestyle experiences. Of the 930 deliverable questionnaires, 730 were returned, resulting in a 78.5% response rate. The subsample of respondents examined in the present study includes 295 married women and men who are part of a dual earner or single earner family.³

Measurement of Variables

Family employment status, the primary independent variable of interest in this study, is measured based on how respondents answered questions about their own and their spouse's current employment status. The dual earner group is composed of 109 women and 122 men who report themselves as employed full time and married to a spouse who also is employed full time. The single earner group is comprised of 28 women who state they are full-time homemakers with husbands who are employed full time and 36 men who report they are employed full time and have a full-time homemaker wife.

For purposes of analysis, family employment status is converted into a dummy variable where the dual earner group is assigned a score of 1, while the single earner group is assigned a score of 0. Thus, the single earner group represents the deleted dummy reference category.

To assess attitudinal differences between women and men, a dummy variable is used in the analysis. Women are given a score of one, while men are given a score of 0. Men therefore represent the deleted comparison group.

Regarding the demographic variables, chronological age is measured using an interval-level scale that ranges from 23 to 63. Individual yearly earnings are assessed by asking respondents to report their own earnings before taxes for 1985. The response categories include: 0 (None); 1 (Less than \$5,000); 2 (\$5,000 to \$9,999); 3 (10,000 to \$14,999); 4 (\$15,000 to \$19,999); 5 (\$20,000 to \$24,999); 6 (\$25,000 to \$29,999); 7 (\$30,000 to \$34,999); 8 (\$35,000 to \$39,999); 9 (\$40,000 to \$44,999) and 10 (\$45,000 or more). Educational attainment is measured using the following scale: 1 = college graduate; 2 = some graduate school; 3 = master's degree; and 4 = doctorate degree.

All the responses for the family background variables are dichotomous. Consequently, for purposes of analysis, they are converted to dummy variables. Respondents with employed mothers are assigned a score of 1, while those with full-time homemaker mothers are given a score of 0. People with spouses who have attended college are given a score of 1. Individuals whose spouses have not attended college are assigned a score of 0. Lastly, parents are given a score of 1, while nonparents are assigned a score of 0.

The dependent variable examined in this study, attitudes toward gender roles in the family, is measured using a nine item scale. The scale items included relate to both traditional and nontraditional gender roles for women and men in the family (see Appendix for the actual wording of the items). The substantive areas included are: if it is acceptable for a women to retain her maiden name upon marriage; if a woman should quit working outside the home if her husband can economically support her; the relative family and career priorities of women and men; comparisons between employed mothers and homemaker mothers regarding outcomes for children; the provision of free childcare centers to help employed parents; whether husbands should be the major family providers; and if women and men should share housework and childcare. Responses to the items range on a five point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The only exceptions to this scoring are for the items related to women quitting work if their husbands can support them and the view that husbands should be the major family providers where the scoring is reversed. Individuals' scores for the items are summed, resulting in a scale that ranges from a low of 9 (traditional gender role attitudes) to a high of 45 (nontraditional gender role attitudes). The Cronbach's alpha reliability associated with the scale is .72 for this subsample.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

The social background characteristics of the women and men in dual earner families and those in single earner families, as well as the average scores on the gender role attitudes scale are displayed in Table 1. Although the groups are similar in average age and the fact that almost all the respondents are European American, some important differences exist in other demographic and family background characteristics.

(Table 1 About Here)

Overall, dual earner women and men have earned higher levels of education than those from single earner families, especially compared to the women who are full-time homemakers. Relative to individual yearly earnings, single earner men have the highest average earnings (7.3), followed by dual earner men (5.6) and dual earner women (5.0). Not surprisingly, women who are full-time homemakers have the lowest average earnings (.2).

In relation to the family background characteristics, dual earner women are most likely to have had an employed mother (78.9%), followed by the dual earner men (68.0%). Just over one half of full-time homemakers (57.1%) and under

one half of single earner men (47.2%) had an employed mother. Most of the spouses of those in the subsample have attended college. This most likely to be true for the full-time homemakers (82.1%), followed by the dual earner women (66.1%). The men in the subsample are somewhat less likely than the women to have a spouse who has attended college. The relevant percentage for dual earner men is 56.2% and 41.7% for single earner men. Finally, a definite distinction emerges when comparing the percentage of people who are parents. One hundred percent of the men and women in single earner families are parents in contrast to 56.6% of the men and 37.6% of the women in dual earner families.

Also included in Table 1 are the average scores by group for the gender role attitudes scale. As predicted, women and men in dual earner families exhibit higher levels of support for nontraditional gender roles in the family compared to those in single earner families. The largest average difference is between the dual earner women (36.4) and single earner men (29.1). Dual earner men have the second highest average score (33.9), while full-time homemakers rank third (31.9).

Multiple Regression Analysis

Multiple regression with listwise deletion is the analytic technique used to establish the independent effect of family employment status on gender role attitudes, while

controlling for gender differences and the effects of the demographic and family background characteristics. The results of the multiple regression analysis are shown in Table 2.

(Table 2 About Here)

The findings indicate definite support for the hypothesis that individuals in dual earner families will be more supportive of nontraditional gender roles compared to those in single earner families. In fact, family employment status has the strongest effect on gender role attitudes compared to all other variables included in the model (Beta = .31, $t = 5.10$, $p < .01$). Also consistent with predictions is the finding that women are significantly more supportive than men (Beta = .20, $t = 3.44$, $p < .01$). Individuals with employed mothers are found to exhibit significantly greater support for nontraditional gender roles in the family compared to those whose mothers are full-time homemakers (Beta = .12, $t = 2.16$, $p < .05$). Also, parents are significantly less supportive than nonparents (Beta = -.14, $t = -2.26$, $p < .05$). However, the effects of educational attainment and individual earnings only approach significance at the .05 level (Beta = .10, $p = .07$ and Beta = -.09, $p = .12$, respectively). Also, chronological age and having a spouse who attended college have no

significant effect on attitudes toward gender roles in the family.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study indicate that even among a sample of college-educated individuals, variation in gender role attitudes exists, with attitudes most strongly influenced by family employment status. Consequently, our study both supports and extends previous research in this area. It lends support to Gerson (1987) and Glass (1992) regarding the existence of important differences in women's attitudes depending upon their employment status. By including men in the analysis, our study also extends earlier research by suggesting that similar processes and factors may be influencing the gender role attitudes of men and women. Thus, the gender attitudes of both women and men appear to be consistent with the personal choices they make about work and family arrangements. Furthermore, these attitudes seem to be reflective of ideological stances that enhance and protect one's dual or single earner arrangement. Hopefully, future research in this area will use larger and more diverse samples in order to examine these possibilities further.

A number of other factors are found to have independent effects on the gender role attitudes of our respondents.

Consistent with previous research, women exhibit a higher level of support for nontraditional gender roles compared to men. This suggests that, in general, women tend to be more accepting of nontraditional options in the family.

People with employed mothers express higher levels of support for nontraditional gender roles. Thus, as suggested previously, employed mothers may provide important role models for their children in terms of the "appropriate" roles of adult women.

As predicted, parents are less supportive than nonparents. This finding may be due to consistency between gender attitudes and behaviors, with parents engaging in and expressing more traditional behaviors and attitudes compared to nonparents. Future research examining actual behaviors would be needed, though, before concluding that this explanation is a valid one.

Overall, the findings of our research suggest that the "family gap" in attitudes discussed by Gerson (1987) applies not only to women, but also to men. Given the existence of this gap, another important issue needs to be addressed: what are social implications if this divergence continues? Gerson (1987) and Glass (1992) discuss a number of possibilities such as the differential gender socialization of children in more traditional and nontraditional families, and continued debate about government-sponsored daycare, the

Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights and comparable worth in employment. However, as Gerson (1987) and Glass (1992) both contend, this "family gap" in attitudes might be lessened if structural changes such as paid parental leave, affordable quality daycare, more flexible work schedules, and a greater valuing of domestic work were enacted, thereby giving women and men a truly greater range of options and choices in the employment and family worlds.

ENDNOTES

1. See Thompson and Walker (1989) for a discussion of why viewing men as gendered beings is significant for understanding family life.
2. Although a potentially important factor, race/ethnicity is not included in the analysis due to the fact that almost all of the respondents in this study are European American. The racial/ethnic homogeneity of the sample is due to the fact that almost all of the students who have ever attended the university from which the sample is drawn also are European American.
3. There are a number of reasons why the subsample includes only 40% of the original sample. Given the focus of the study, only married people are included in the subsample. This decreases the sample size by 31%. Also, in order to obtain as "clean" a comparison as possible between the dual and single earner groups, those who reported themselves and/or their spouse as employed part time, self employed, unemployed, retired, or a student are not included in the subsample.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS USED TO MEASURE
ATTITUDES TOWARD GENDER ROLES IN THE FAMILY

1. It is acceptable for a woman to retain her maiden name if she marries.
2. A woman should quit working outside the home if her husband can economically support her.
3. A man should be able to make his first priority a family rather than a career.
4. An employed mother can establish as warm and secure a relationship with her child as a mother who does not work outside the home.
5. It is much better for everyone involved if the husband is the major provider for the family.
6. Men should share housework with women.
7. A woman should be able to make her first priority a career rather than a family.
8. There should be free child-care centers so both parents can work outside the home.
9. Women and men should share equally in the raising of their children.

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TABLE 1. SOCIAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
BY GENDER AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS

Variable	Dual Earner Women N=109	Dual Earner Men N=122	Homemaker Women N=28	Single Earner Men N=36
Mean Age	30.5	32.8	33.6	34.9
Race/Ethnicity				
European American	100.0%	97.5%	100.0%	100.0%
African American	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Hispanic American	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Native American	0.0%	.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Asian American	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	99.9% ^a	100.0%	100.0%
Highest Educational Attainment				
College Graduate	53.7%	51.2%	85.7%	60.0%
Some Graduate School	25.9%	27.3%	7.1%	22.9%
Master's Degree	17.6%	19.8%	7.1%	17.1%
Doctoral Degree	2.8%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	99.9% ^a	100.0%
Mean Individual Earnings	5.0	5.6	.2	7.3
% With Employed Mother	78.9%	68.0%	57.1%	47.2%
% With Spouse Who Has Attended College	66.1%	56.2%	82.1%	41.7%
% Who Are Parents	37.6%	56.6%	100.0%	100.0%
Mean Score on Gender Role Attitudes Scale	36.4	33.9	31.9	29.1

^aRounding error

TABLE 2. RESULTS OF THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS:
THE FACTORS EFFECTING ATTITUDES TOWARD
GENDER ROLES IN THE FAMILY

Variable	B	SE _B	Beta	t	p
Dual Earners ^a	3.80	.75	.31	5.10	.00**
Gender ^b	1.99	.58	.20	3.44	.00**
Age	.01	.05	.01	.24	.81
Individual Earnings	-.20	.13	-.09	-1.55	.12
Highest Educational Attainment	.60	.33	.10	1.81	.07
Employed Mother ^c	1.24	.57	.12	2.16	.03*
Spouse Attended College ^d	-.40	.54	-.04	-.75	.46
Parents ^e	-1.42	.63	-.14	-2.26	.02*

^aIndividuals in single earner families are the deleted dummy reference category.

^bMen represent the deleted dummy reference category.

^cThose whose mothers were not employed outside the home compose the deleted dummy reference category.

^dPeople whose spouses did not attend college comprise the deleted dummy reference category.

^eThose without children represent the deleted dummy reference category.

N = 279

R² = .26, Adjusted R² = .24

*p < .05

**p < .01